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ABSTRACT

This monograph offers reflections on the role of private higher education in American society. Chapter 1, "Scope and Diversity of Private Higher Education," defines private higher education and notes that private institutions run the gamut from liberal arts colleges to comprehensive colleges and universities, to specialized institutions, two-year colleges, and church-related institutions. Chapter 2, "Contributions of Private Higher Education to American Society," notes that private higher education provides competition to the public higher education, is a center of academic freedom removed from political influence, reflects a wide variety of value systems, and plays a role in educating and preparing political and business leadership. Chapter 3, "The Future of Private Higher Education," forecasts that private research universities will remain centers of scholarship and teaching; that private selective colleges of arts and sciences will become stronger; and that weaker institutions, especially historically black colleges, will close or go public. Other trends noted include gains in quality and resources in the South, increased state financial support to students who choose private institutions; an emphasis on good management and assessment practices; modification of tenure; expansion of student financial aid; athletic reforms; changes in social values; and a continued role for private higher education. (SM)

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PRIVATE HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Manning M. Pattillo, Jr.

The University of Georgia
Institute of Higher Education

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Private Higher Education in the United States

Manning M. Pattillo, Jr.

PRIVATE HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

by

Manning M. Pattillo, Jr.

The University of Georgia
Institute of Higher Education
Athens, Georgia

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FOREWORD

The Institute of Higher Education is pleased to publish the following reflections on private higher education by Dr. Manning Pattillo. First presented as three invited lectures in 1988, Dr. Pattillo's observations were expanded in a graduate seminar he taught during the spring of 1989 and are now presented as a brief monograph.

The perspective and insights given by Dr. Pattillo in the lectures and in his seminar are particularly relevant to the study of higher education in the closing years of the 20th century. Private higher education in the U.S. was pre-dominant in the early years of the 20th century, and with the post-WWII explosion of public higher education, the counterbalancing influences of private institutions are again essential to the continued development and well-being of American higher education.

As former president and honorary chancellor of Oglethorpe University, Dr. Pattillo is unusually well qualified to address the scope and diversity of institutions and programs, the contributions of private institutions to American society, and the future of private higher education as a fundamental societal value. As the author of numerous publications in the academic field of higher education, Dr. Pattillo is a scholar with commendable credentials for a thoughtful re-examination of private higher education in contemporary society. His book (with Donald M. MacKenzie), *Church-Sponsored Higher Education in the U.S.*, remains a major contribution to the literature of American higher education. Many of the insights and viewpoints in that volume are as relevant and as readable today as they were in 1966. They are also indicative of the scholarly analysis and interpretation that Dr. Pattillo brings to his later discussion of higher education in a nation that is once again examining its basic values.

The Institute staff and I are honored to claim Dr. Pattillo as one of our own. We learn much from him in our various discussions and we commend to others his fully enlightening discussion of private higher education in our nation. The wisdom and experience of seasoned scholars, such as he, are increasingly valuable as we cross the threshold years to the 21st century.

Cameron Fincher
Regents Professor
and Director
December 12, 1990

PREFACE

These reflections on the role of private higher education in American society were originally presented as lectures at the University of Georgia in February and March, 1989, under the sponsorship of the Institute of Higher Education. I am grateful to Cameron Fincher, Regents Professor and Director of the Institute, for his kind invitation and generous hospitality.

I am also indebted to three other persons who were very helpful in sharing with me their thoughts on the future of private higher education — Hugh M. Gloster, President Emeritus, Morehouse College; Gary H. Quehl, President, Council for Advancement and Support of Education; and Richard F. Rosser, President, National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities. They are not responsible for my conclusions, as outlined in Chapter III, but their observations on the national scene in higher education were invaluable. Few persons are as well equipped as they to speculate about the future of private colleges and universities in the United States.

Manning M. Pattillo, Jr.

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Chapter I

SCOPE AND DIVERSITY OF PRIVATE HIGHER EDUCATION

It should be stated at the beginning that the author has spent most of his career in private higher education and has strong convictions about the importance of this sector of American education. It will not be his purpose, however, to make invidious comparisons between public and private higher education or to try to persuade the reader to accept a partisan position on the questions discussed. We should take it as a fundamental principle that both sectors of American higher education make important contributions to the public welfare. The two sectors have many common characteristics, but they also have differences or distinctive features that are worth discussing. In general, they have worked together harmoniously in the United States, and that is as it should be. The public benefits when each sector strives to make its greatest contribution to educational opportunity, diversity, and quality.

The United States is unusual among the nations of the world in having a dual system of education — public and private — from the kindergarten to the highest reaches of graduate study and research. We are unique in the strength of our system of private education. In most countries, higher education is largely or exclusively a governmental function, both in control and in financial support. The United States has been a notable exception, though the United Kingdom is now moving in somewhat the same direction. Mrs. Thatcher is trying to increase the private character of higher education in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. In this country, too, we see some movement toward the "privatization" of public colleges and universities, especially in their fund-raising activities and their efforts to insulate themselves from improper political influence.

Definition of Private Higher Education

The distinction between public and private higher education in the United States is not sharp or easily defined. It is not always reflected in educational purposes or curriculum or financial support or academic quality or type of students served. The nub of the matter lies in legal control, in the structure and operation of the governing board. A private institution has a board that is largely independent of government. The members of the board are elected by the board itself — this is called a self-perpetuating board — or are designated by nongovernmental bodies such as churches or the organized alumni of an institution.[1]

This kind of control may be contrasted with the governance of public institutions, in which the board is appointed by a governmental official, for example, the governor of the state, or by a state agency, or is elected by the general public. Sometimes a single public board may control a number of institutions or campuses. This is less often the case in private higher education.

It should be emphasized that the source of funds for financial support is *not* a satisfactory basis for distinguishing between public and private institutions. Many private institutions receive substantial support from tax monies. This is particularly true of major research universities such as Chicago, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, M.I.T., Stanford, and Yale, all of which receive tens of millions of dollars a year from the federal government in grants awarded on a competitive basis. Likewise, most states today appropriate funds to private institutions or their students. The Tuition Equalization Grant program in Georgia, which provides $925 a year for each resident of the state who attends a private institution, is typical of this kind of state support of private colleges and universities. Many states also subsidize the operation of private professional schools, especially medical schools.

It would probably be more accurate to describe higher education as privately *controlled* higher education. That would make the distinction clearer and would avoid many erroneous inferences from the use of the more general term "private." Privately controlled institutions would insist that they serve public purposes and the public welfare, though their management is largely independent of governmental authority.

To say that private higher education is largely independent of governmental control is not to say that private institutions are exempted from obeying state, federal, and local laws. Their privateness lies simply in the way in which their boards are constituted. They are not agencies of government, though they are chartered under state law and must obey the laws that are applicable to all legal entities.

There is an increasing tendency on the part of private educational institutions to use the term "independent" rather than "private," the thought being that this emphasizes the essential point that independent education enjoys greater freedom from governmental control and from political influence. Independent education is independent in the sense of being nongovernmental. This language does make a useful point. However, I will use the three terms "private," "privately controlled," and "independent" interchangeably.

The question of semantics has been addressed in the naming of the national and state organizations that represent private or independent institutions. The most important national organizations are the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities, headquartered in Washington, and the Foundation for Independent Higher Education, with offices at Stamford, Connecticut. Note that both use the term "independent" rather than "private." The National Association includes the great majority of independent institutions in the country. It is the principal link between these colleges and universities and the federal government. It keeps its membership informed of federal developments that may affect the interest of independent institutions and represents them in efforts to influence federal policy. The Association has an annual meeting and active committees in areas of concern to its membership.

Closely related to the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities are 42 state associations of private or independent institutions. These associations deal with state governments in much the same way that the National Association handles relations with the federal government. The staff members of the state associations have a professional organization called the State Association Executives Council. This nationwide organizational network has been quite effective in representing the interests of private colleges and universities across the country.

The Foundation for Independent Higher Education is the umbrella organization of 39 state and regional associations that raise money from business and industry for private or independent institutions. Through cooperative fund raising these organizations bring to their member colleges and universities substantial funds that they would not be able to obtain individually. Many large national corporations have contributed to the support of private higher education through the state associations or the Foundation for Independent Higher Education.

Private institutions, of course, cooperate with public colleges and universities in many local, state, and national consortia and associations, the most important of which is probably the American Council on Education.

Dimensions of Private Higher Education

Let us turn our attention now to the scope of private or independent higher education in the United States. How many institutions are there, and how many students do they enroll? What fraction of American higher education is privately controlled?

The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, the most authoritative agency for the classification of institutions of higher education, listed a total of 3,389 colleges and universities of all types in the United States in 1987.[2] Of these, 1,841 — or 54 percent — were classified as private. Thus, slightly more than half of all the institutions at the collegiate level are privately controlled. It is interesting to note that the number and percentage of private institutions have actually increased since 1970. The number rose from 1,515 to 1,841 in that 17-year period, and the percentage of all colleges and universities classified as private increased by about 1 percent in spite of the widespread establishment of new public two-year colleges during the same period. More than half of all of the public institutions are two-year community and technical colleges.

The number of students being educated by the 1,841 privately controlled colleges and universities was 2,844,000 in 1987. This had increased from 2,148,000 since 1970. Thus, the enrollment in private higher education grew by 32 percent in the 17-year period.

However, since World War II private higher education has grown much less rapidly than public higher education in total enrollment. The 1,841 private institutions accounted for 23.1 percent of the 12,301,000 students enrolled in higher education in 1987. This percentage was about 2 percent less than in 1970 and has declined steadily since World War II.

Private institutions are, on average, much smaller than public institutions. The average private college or university has 1,540 students, while the average public institution enrolls about 6,100 students. The total enrollment in public colleges and universities is 9,457,000.

Types of Colleges and Universities

American higher education likes to boast about its diversity. We say that the great variety of types of educational opportunity is one of our notable strengths. The American student has an enormous range of choice in the kind of college or university he or she will attend. Much of this cherished diversity is provided by private or independent institutions. Private colleges and universities extend over the entire spectrum of kinds of postsecondary education.

Of the 1,841 private institutions, the largest homogeneous group is that comprised of liberal arts colleges — 540 institutions engaged primarily in undergraduate education in the arts and sciences. One hundred forty of these are classified by the Carnegie Foundation as Liberal Arts Colleges I, that is, highly selective institutions offering primarily undergraduate programs and conferring more than half of their baccalaureate degrees in arts and sciences. This group includes such colleges as Amherst, Bowdoin, Carleton, Davidson, Haverford, Holy Cross, Oglethorpe, Pomona, Reed, Sewanee, Smith, Swarthmore, Washington and Lee, Wellesley, and Williams.

It is interesting to observe that 140 of the 142 institutions classified as Liberal Arts Colleges I are privately controlled. This type of collegiate education is dominated by the private sector. The highly selective undergraduate college of arts and sciences is almost totally a phenomenon of private higher education.

Of the 1,841 private institutions, 264 are classified as comprehensive colleges and universities — institutions offering a variety of programs, both

liberal and professional, and enrolling more than 1,500 students. Most of these institutions grant bachelor's and master's degrees. They are less focused on the arts and sciences than are Liberal Arts Colleges I and II and usually have lower admission standards than Liberal Arts Colleges I. Examples are Tuskegee, Mercer, Wake Forest, DePaul, Villanova, Pace, Richmond, Clark, Loyola (New Orleans), Susquehanna, and Trinity (Texas).

Of the 1,841 private colleges and universities, 576 are classified as specialized institutions. This very heterogeneous group includes degree-granting colleges of medicine and other health fields, business, engineering, religion and theology, law, and the arts. Some examples of institutions classified in this category are the American Graduate School of International Management, Brooklyn Law School, Columbia Theological Seminary, Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University, Meharry Medical College, New England College of Optometry, Pacific School of Religion, Webb Institute of Naval Architecture, and Westminster Choir School.

Of the 1,841 private institutions, 382 are two-year colleges. These colleges offer programs leading to certificates or the Associate of Arts or Science degree. It is a variegated group of institutions, including many traditional junior colleges and also specialized technical colleges. Some examples are Art Institute of Ft. Lauderdale, Bacone College (a junior college for American Indians in Oklahoma), Central Maine Medical Center School of Nursing, Deep Springs College (a junior college for men on the California-Nevada line, emphasizing work-study on a ranch and admitting a freshman class of 12 students with an average Scholastic Aptitude Test score of about 1400), Georgia Military College, Latter-Day Saints Business College, and Spartanburg Methodist College.

The most visible segment of independent higher education is a group of 25 distinguished research universities. Seventy-nine private universities grant the doctoral degree, but the 25 classified by the Carnegie Foundation as Research Universities I are among the most eminent centers of scholarship in the world. These universities have extensive graduate programs leading to the doctorate, place a high priority on research, and receive at least $33.5 million a year in federal grants. Arranged alphabetically, they are Boston University; California Institute of Technology; Carnegie-Mellon University; Case Western Reserve University; Columbia University; Cornell University (though it

should be mentioned that certain colleges in Cornell University are state-sponsored); Duke University; Harvard University; Howard University; Johns Hopkins University; Massachusetts Institute of Technology; New York University; Northwestern University; Princeton University; Rockefeller University (with only 100 students!); Stanford University; the Universities of Chicago, Miami, Pennsylvania, Rochester, and Southern California; Vanderbilt University; Washington University; Yale University; and Yeshiva University (the Orthodox Jewish institution in New York City). The average size of these universities is only 12,800 students and some of the most illustrious are considerably smaller than that, but they produce far more than their share of important research and of the young scholars who staff other institutions.

There is another important kind of diversity in privately controlled higher education that must be mentioned. Of the 1,841 private institutions, 889 (about 49%) have some degree of relationship to religious bodies. These are the church-related or church-sponsored colleges and universities.[3] They are affiliated with about 65 different denominations.

A few of the church-sponsored institutions, such as the University of the South (Episcopal) and Brigham Young University (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints), are owned by their sponsoring churches. Then there is a wide range of kinds of association between colleges and churches, and at the outer edge it becomes difficult to separate institutions with an historical affinity to particular churches from the institutions that claim no relationship at all. It is not a clear line.

However, most of this large group of church-related institutions are affected in some way by their religious affiliation. This may be reflected in a pervasive tone or in specific curricular requirements (for example, courses in Bible study) or in a chapel or chaplaincy program or in the selection of trustees, administrators, or faculty or in extracurricular activities or in the career plans of students or in their denominational background or in the standards governing their conduct.

About one-third of the church-related institutions have ties with the Roman Catholic Church, and this is a substantial group of colleges and universities influenced by a common tradition of religious practice and belief. The Roman Catholic institutions are especially numerous and strong in the East and the Middle West. Georgetown University, the University of Notre

Dame, Boston College, the College of Holy Cross, Fordham University, St. Louis University, Catholic University, and the College of St. Catherine are examples of prominent Roman Catholic institutions.

Two other large groups of denominational institutions are the colleges and universities related to the United Methodist Church and the Southern Baptist Convention. They total almost 200 institutions. Baylor University, DePauw University, Emory University, Furman University, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Southern Methodist University, Stetson University, and the University of Richmond are well-known examples of Methodist and Baptist institutions.

The evangelical colleges, many of which are not denominational, have a strongly Christian character and add their own distinctive ingredient to the mix of private higher education. Asbury College, Gordon College, Houghton College, Westmont College, and Wheaton College (Illinois) are examples of well-established evangelical colleges.

The church-related colleges and universities cut across all of the other categories mentioned above. However, they are most numerous in the classes described by the Carnegie Foundation as comprehensive colleges and universities, liberal arts colleges, and two-year institutions.

Illustrative Institutions

To make more concrete the point that private higher education in the United States is remarkably diverse, I would like to present thumbnail sketches of eight colleges and universities that provide a good cross section of private institutions throughout the country. These eight are reasonably representative of the whole group in their diversity of location, quality, educational purposes, financial resources, and clientele served. The eight institutions I have selected are California Institute of Technology, Morehouse College, Oglethorpe University, Princeton University, Rosary College, Sue Bennett College, Texas Christian University, and the University of Chicago. Other institutions could have been selected, of course, but these will serve our purpose well.

California Institute of Technology, commonly called Cal Tech, is located on an exquisite campus in Pasadena, about 12 miles from Los Angeles. It is a scientific and technological university of international renown. Since the 1920s its faculty has produced a steady stream of Nobel laureates, equalled by few universities in the world.

But Cal Tech has always been a small institution. Its enrollment is limited to about 1,800 students, approximately half graduate and half undergraduate. It accepts about 31 percent of its applicants for undergraduate admission and has an average Scholastic Aptitude Test (S.A.T.) score of over 1400. Its student body is one of the ablest, if not the ablest, in the United States. An interesting fact is that 21 percent of its students have Asian backgrounds.

Cal Tech offers educational programs in all of the recognized fields of science and engineering, with a strong emphasis on doctoral studies. In its undergraduate curriculum it requires a substantial liberal education in addition to scientific and technological studies. All undergraduates must devote at least 20 percent of their time to the humanities and social sciences. The Institute library has 397,000 bound volumes and 5,664 journals.

Cal Tech provides a comprehensive program of intercollegiate and intramural athletics, all conducted on a strictly amateur basis. Its varsity teams compete in National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Division III.

The cost of tuition, room, and board at Cal Tech is about $15,000 per year, but approximately 70 percent of its students receive financial aid, principally in the form of generous scholarships. The Institute is heavily endowed; its present endowment is approximately $500 million.

Cal Tech has an extraordinary faculty, not only in science and engineering but also in fields such as English, history, and economics. Ninety-nine percent hold doctorates from the leading universities in the world. Research is emphasized, and probably no other faculty of its size is more productive. In surveys of faculty opinion across the country, the graduate departments at Cal Tech consistently have ranked at or near the top in comparison with the best universities in America.

Cal Tech's only rival among scientific and technological institutions is Massachusetts Institute of Technology. It is worth noting, however, that Cal

Tech is only about one-fifth as large as M.I.T. Cal Tech stands out as a superb example of what can be accomplished by a small university with clear purposes, first-rate students and faculty, and excellent facilities.

Our second example is *Morehouse College*, an historically black institution for men. Morehouse is very different from Cal Tech, but it has excelled among colleges of its type. Morehouse is one of 42 accredited, historically black, private institutions in the United States.

Established in 1867 and located in Atlanta, Morehouse is an undergraduate college offering Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science degrees in business and management and the arts and sciences. Business is the preferred major of Morehouse students, but substantial numbers go on to medical and law schools. It has a required core of general education in its curriculum and a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa.

Morehouse attracts a national student body. It draws almost as many students from the Middle Atlantic states, the Middle West, and the Far West as from the South. Next to Georgia, the state with the largest number of students at Morehouse is California. The College accepts about 50 percent of its applicants, and the average combined S.A.T. score of its freshman class is about 850. Its enrollment is approximately 2,600.

The College shares the Atlanta University Center Library with the other institutions in the group. This library has 560,000 volumes and 1,000 journals.

Morehouse was originally affiliated with the American Baptist Convention but is now independent of the church. It has engaged in intensive fund raising and is one of the most highly endowed black colleges in the United States. Its endowment is $40 million.

Perhaps the most notable characteristic of Morehouse is its *esprit de corps*. The College has a pride and a spirit that make it stand out from most institutions. Its alumni hold it in high regard, and it has produced a significant fraction of the black business and professional leadership of our country.

A third illustration of the diversity of private higher education is *Oglethorpe University*, a coeducational college of arts and sciences founded in 1835. Oglethorpe is a nonsectarian institution located in the suburbs of Atlanta. Originally a Presbyterian college for men, it became separate from the church in 1915, coeducational in 1920, and racially integrated in 1956.

Oglethorpe is primarily an undergraduate college, offering majors in about 25 traditional disciplines of the arts and sciences and, in recent years, emphasizing interdisciplinary majors in fields such as American studies, international relations, computer science and business, and individually planned programs. A distinctive feature of the curriculum is the extraordinary emphasis on English writing, and a minor in writing has recently been established. About 50 percent of Oglethorpe graduates pursue education beyond the bachelor's degree, principally in law, medicine, and business.

The backbone of the Oglethorpe curriculum is a required core of liberal studies, constituting almost 50 percent of the undergraduate program. All students must complete prescribed courses in the humanities, social sciences, mathematics, and science.

Oglethorpe students are attracted from 30 states and 25 foreign countries and tend to come from urban and suburban backgrounds. Most of the students ranked in the top tenth of their high school graduating class, and their average S.A.T. score is well above 1100. (The average S.A.T. score has increased more than 200 points in the last 13 years.) The Carnegie Foundation classifies the University as LA1 — a highly selective liberal arts college.

The academic credentials of the Oglethorpe faculty are exceptional for an undergraduate college. More than 90 percent hold a doctoral degree, and the faculty have been recruited with great care from the most distinguished graduate schools across the country. Oglethorpe emphasizes the seminar method of instruction. Its average class size is 17 students, and it has no classes larger than 45. Its library holdings number about 100,000 volumes and 700 journals.

In its administration Oglethorpe has given special attention to long-range planning and management by objective. Through these means, it has been able to make rapid progress in spite of limited financial resources. This is an excellent example of a college that, through single-minded dedication to well-defined academic goals, has achieved distinction in its region.

Princeton University is the fourth institution that we shall consider. Founded in 1746 and located in the beautiful residential community of Princeton, New Jersey, the University has achieved a unique position in American higher education.

Almost alone among the leading universities of the country, Princeton has achieved greatness without benefit of the usual constellation of professional schools of law, medicine, and business administration, which are standard components of most distinguished universities. Engineering and architecture are the only professional schools at Princeton. It is essentially a university of arts and sciences with a small but excellent graduate school attached to an undergraduate program emphasizing liberal education. For many years it limited its Graduate College to 250 students, but more recently it has allowed the number of graduate students to increase substantially.

The University is among the most selective academically in the United States. It accepts one in six applicants, and the average S.A.T. score of its freshmen is about 1300.

The Princeton library is unsurpassed for a university of its scope. The holdings include 4 million volumes and 36,000 periodicals.

During most of its history, Princeton was a university for men. In 1969 it became coeducational, and that has changed its social life in many ways. With about 6,200 students, it is a comparatively small institution. Its students come from all parts of the United States, and many foreign countries are represented.

Princeton is expensive. Tuition, room, and board cost more than $15,000. Almost half of the students receive financial aid, and the average amount of assistance received is about $10,000. Very able students are not denied a Princeton education because of limited means.

Princeton is one of the most richly endowed universities in the world. Its present endowment exceeds $2.5 billion. It has sought to be a special kind of university and, in doing so, has achieved a distinctive position among American universities.

Now we turn to a very different kind of private institution — *Rosary College* in River Forest, Illinois. A coeducational, Roman Catholic college, Rosary is attractively located in a western suburb of Chicago. It is conducted by Dominican Sisters.

Originally a college for women, Rosary has become coeducational, though a majority of its students continue to be women. Its 1,500 students come primarily from Illinois. Rosary grants bachelor's and master's degrees.

The College attracts an above-average student body but is not highly selective. Its curriculum is strongly pointed toward professional studies such as business, home economics, and library science. The required core of general studies is minimal. Rosary has shifted from being primarily a liberal arts college to being a career-oriented institution.

In this respect, Rosary is an example of a movement that has affected many private colleges in the last twenty years. Institutions that considered themselves liberal arts colleges have, for market reasons, tried to make their curricula more attractive to occupationally minded students. Often these have been less well-established colleges that did not have a strong commitment to the goals of liberal education and that were not able to pursue a selective admissions policy. Usually such colleges emphasize career majors while maintaining a core of general studies. Rosary shifted its whole emphasis in the occupational direction with minimal requirements in general education. The College includes graduate schools of library science and special education. Its library is strong with about 210,000 volumes and 1,200 periodicals.

Rosary is one of many Roman Catholic colleges in the East and the Middle West that have adopted a pragmatic philosophy in order to survive. These colleges have been badly hurt by the decline in women's religious vocations and by competition from neighboring institutions with a similar history. Colleges sponsored by Roman Catholic communities of sisters have been seriously affected.

Rosary has very limited financial resources. Its endowment totals about $1,800,000.

Our sixth institution, *Sue Bennett College* at London, Kentucky, is a two-year, coeducational college related to the United Methodist Church. The College was established in 1897 and has been accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools since 1932. In many ways, it is typical of private junior colleges across the country. A modest institution, located in a small town 75 miles south of Lexington, Sue Bennett has a student body of 540, drawn heavily from the local community and almost entirely from Kentucky.

The College accepts virtually all applicants and offers a curriculum adapted to the interests and capabilities of its students. It provides remedial courses

for those not well prepared for college. Sue Bennett has general educational requirements for all students, but its majors for the degrees of Associate in Arts or Associate of Applied Science are strongly oriented toward occupational training in business administration, accounting, secretarial studies, office administration, education, and other vocational fields.

In common with most church-related colleges, Sue Bennett in its statement of purpose emphasizes the importance of a broad education that gives attention to Christian values, increases the student's awareness of the needs of others, teaches effective communication and critical-thinking skills, and helps students make constructive use of leisure time. The College also believes that a knowledge of history will enable its graduates to lead satisfying lives in a rapidly changing, complex society.

The faculty of 29 persons is drawn primarily from public and private institutions in Kentucky, and their graduate preparation in most cases is at the master's-degree level.

In keeping with its purpose of serving students of limited means from rural Kentucky, the College has quite moderate charges. The cost of tuition, room, and board is only $5,000 a year, and most students receive some financial aid.

Sue Bennett has meager resources. It operates on a budget of $2 million a year and has endowment funds totalling $577,000. Its library contains 36,000 volumes and 130 periodicals.

Our seventh representative institution, *Texas Christian University (TCU)*, is a complex university located in Fort Worth and affiliated with the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). Established in 1873, it is now an institution of about 7,000 students with extensive programs in the arts and sciences, business, education, communication and the fine arts, journalism, nursing, divinity, and ranch management. It confers bachelor's, master's, and doctor's degrees. The doctoral program is limited to a few fields in which the University considers itself strong.

Though the University has added new professional schools and programs to its historic function of education in the arts and sciences, it has maintained a strong core of general studies for most students.

TCU is selective in its admission policies. It accepts about 69 percent of its applicants, drawing heavily from Texas. The average S.A.T. score of freshmen is 1070.

The University library has 1.1 million volumes and 3,500 journals.

Student charges are moderate. The cost of tuition, room, and board is in the range of $7,500 to $10,000. About 60 percent of the students receive financial aid. The University has an endowment of $183 million, which is medium sized for an institution of this scope.

About 80 percent of the TCU faculty hold the doctorate, and the faculty is drawn primarily from the graduate schools of large state universities in the Middle West and the South.

The University maintains an ambitious program of intercollegiate athletics, competing against the most prominent teams in the region.

TCU is representative of perhaps 50 private universities across the country trying to offer broad educational programs at both the graduate and undergraduate levels with limited financial resources. These institutions provide educational opportunities to large numbers of students at moderate cost.

Our final institution is the *University of Chicago*. This is one of the few universities that has always been primarily a graduate institution with a strong research emphasis. Founded in 1890, Chicago has long been one of the most distinguished universities in the United States and a beacon of scholarship in the Middle West.

The University is perhaps the most academic among the major institutions of the country in the sense that so many of its graduates have joined the faculties of other colleges and universities. Even its professional schools of law, medicine, and business have tended to produce graduates who pursued careers in teaching and research. The University's divisions of the sciences, social sciences, and humanities have enjoyed extraordinary reputations throughout their history. The University has always been able to attract scholars of great distinction.

The standards of admission are high. The average S.A.T. score of the freshman class is about 1280, and the selection process for applicants to the professional schools and graduate departments is rigorous.

The library contains 4.7 million volumes and 48,000 journals.

The University is a serious institution in which fraternities, sororities, athletics, and the other more colorful aspects of campus life have been clearly subordinated to academic aims. Chicago has been a leader in efforts to reform intercollegiate athletics; it has a broad but strictly amateur program.

Chicago has never been a large university. It has fewer than 10,000 students and is the tenth smallest of the 70 institutions classified as Research Universities I by the Carnegie Foundation. The latest published figure for its endowment is $974 million.

In these eight institutions — Cal Tech, Morehouse, Oglethorpe, Princeton, Rosary, Sue Bennett, Texas Christian, and the University of Chicago — we have a representative sample of privately controlled higher education in the United States. At least they give us some notion of the wide diversity of private institutions in geographical distribution, size, purposes, clientele, programs, and resources. They are more different than they are alike. Their common characteristic is that they are all governed by boards that operate independently of state and federal authorities. Seven are built around a core of the arts and sciences. Six have shaped their student bodies and their educational programs through careful selection of students. At least six of the eight institutions would probably say that they are in the top quarter in academic quality among American colleges and universities.

Notes

[1]A useful reference on the governance of private higher education is Miriam Mason Wood, *Trusteeship in the Private College* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985). A more popular treatment of the responsibilities and operation of boards, both public and private, may be found in Clark Kerr and Marian L. Gade, *The Guardians: Boards of Trustees of American Colleges and Universities* (Washington: Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges, 1989).

[2]The statistical data cited in this chapter on enrollments, types of institutions, curricula, resources, etc., have been drawn from the following sources: *A Classification of Institutions of Higher Education* (Princeton, N.J.: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1987); *American Universities and Colleges, 13th Edition* (Hawthorn, N.Y.: Walter de Gruyter, Inc., in collaboration with the American Council on Education, 1987); *Barron's*

Profiles of American Colleges, 16th Edition (New York: Barron's Educational Series, Inc., 1988); *The HEP 1988 Higher Education Directory* (Falls Church, Va.: Higher Education Publications, 1988); *Peterson's Guide to Four-Year Colleges* (Princeton, N.J.: Peterson's Guides, 1986); and the catalogues of individual institutions.

For a systematic study of this segment of private higher education, see Manning M. Pattillo, Jr. and Donald M. Mackenzie, *Church-Sponsored Higher Education in the United States* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1966).

Chapter II

CONTRIBUTIONS OF PRIVATE HIGHER EDUCATION TO AMERICAN SOCIETY

In the first chapter we noted that the United States is unique in its dual system of education — public and private — extending from the kindergarten to the Ph.D. No other country has so strong a private sector, and that applies to both higher education and the lower schools.

The distinction between public and private higher education lies in legal control, in the structure and operation of governing boards. The board of a private institution is largely independent of government. The sources of funds for the support of an institution are not a satisfactory basis for distinguishing between public and private because many institutions that are legally private receive funds from the federal government or from state governments. It would probably be more accurate to describe private higher education as privately *controlled* higher education. We also observed the increasing use of the term "independent" rather than "private," especially in the names of the principal organizations representing this sector of higher education. In the literature the three terms "private," "privately controlled," and "independent" are used interchangeably.

More than one-half of the colleges and universities in the United States are privately controlled. Of the 3,389 institutions listed by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1,841 are classified as private. From 1970 to 1987 the number of private institutions increased by more than 300.

The total enrollment in privately controlled institutions increased by 32 percent between 1970 and 1987. However, since World War II private higher education has grown much less rapidly than public higher education, primarily because of the establishment and expansion of public two-year colleges, usually called community colleges. In 1987 the total enrollment in all of American higher education was 12.3 million. The 2.8 million students in private institutions were 23.1 percent of the total. This percentage has declined steadily since World War II.

We have seen that much of the cherished diversity of American higher education is provided by the independent sector. The 1,841 private colleges and universities include two-year colleges, specialized institutions, liberal arts colleges, comprehensive institutions, and doctoral degree-granting universities. The liberal arts colleges are the largest homogeneous group within private higher education, and the research universities are the most visible.

The chapter on the scope and diversity of private colleges and universities was largely factual. We were dealing with statistical information about the whole group of 1,841 institutions and with detailed data on subgroups and individual institutions. We turn now to a more subjective question as we interpret a large group of institutions and arrive at some generalizations about their contributions to American life. We shall draw on factual material wherever possible, but mostly this will be a different kind of analysis in which equally well-informed observers might reach diverse conclusions. The major points that I shall be making are drawn partly from my own reflection and partly from the small body of scholarly literature on the subject.[4]

In my opinion privately controlled colleges and universities have made important contributions to American society in eight areas. Some of the contributions are attributable to the "privateness" of these institutions; other contributions are a result of their history, character, and quality.

Wholesome Competition

The first contribution is that private institutions provide competition to an otherwise all-encompassing governmental system of higher education. In many areas of American life, we try to encourage competition with the conviction that our whole society benefits when different corporations or agencies of government or religious organizations or educational institutions compete with one another. Competition, we believe, is a spur to excellence. This principle is even incorporated in laws such as antitrust legislation.

In countries where governmentally controlled education enjoys a monopoly, there is no outside stimulus to innovate or achieve. A monopoly encourages complacency and arrogance. If the public has no alternative, part of the incentive for excellence is lost.

It would be difficult, probably impossible, to measure how much of the extraordinary dynamism of American higher education is a consequence of the competition between the public and private sectors. However, a dispassionate observer of higher education in such states as New York, Illinois, California, and Texas would, I think, have to conclude that some of the strength of colleges and universities in those states is attributable to competition. Both public and private institutions in those states struggle to meet the competition. Columbia and New York University provide stimulus to City University of New York. Because of the University of Chicago and Northwestern University, the University of Illinois is probably a better institution than it would otherwise be. The University of California at Berkeley cannot afford to rest on its laurels when it has a great private university (Stanford) almost next door. Certainly, in Texas the achievements of Rice have been spurs to the University of Texas and the University of Houston. Many more examples could be cited.

Protection of Freedom

The second contribution of private higher education is that it constitutes a center of academic freedom removed from political influence. Consider two illustrations. When the State of California sought to impose on its state university a faculty loyalty oath in 1949 — and the integrity of Berkeley and UCLA were seriously threatened — professors and administrators at Stanford, Cal Tech, the University of Southern California, and other private institutions had the independence that enabled them to stand up and criticize loudly what was happening in the state university. Politicians could move against critics within the state system, but they could not silence scholars serving in universities and colleges beyond state control.

A similar situation arose in Illinois during the same period. The legislature undertook an investigation of communism in public and private universities in the state. The principal targets were the University of Illinois, the University of Chicago, and Northwestern University. Viewed from any ideological point of view, this was not a well-conceived project.

The boards of trustees at Chicago and Northwestern, including some of the leading citizens of the state, stood firmly and would not knuckle under to political threats. They made the investigation a public issue and brought it to the attention of the responsible press. Their legal counsels advised faculty members on how to protect themselves, and an imprudent investigation was finally abandoned. The independence of two private universities safeguarded legitimate academic freedom throughout the state.

I am not suggesting that every criticism of higher education ought to be resisted or that treason deserves to be defended. More basic issues were involved both in California and in Illinois. Whole faculties were being deprived of constitutional rights, and the fundamental principles on which the academic enterprise is based were under assault. Reasonable people, of whatever political complexion, knew that important values were at stake. The independence of private institutions from governmental control was an important factor in safeguarding the freedom of larger segments of higher education.

Diversity of Values

Closely related to these two contributions is a third, namely, the ability of private higher education to reflect a wide variety of value systems. Stated another way, American society is enriched by the philosophical pluralism exemplified by private colleges and universities. Privately controlled institutions can embody unpopular or minority views that would never be possible for colleges and universities that must operate on the basis of broad consensus or generally accepted ideas. A few illustrations will make this point clear.

The progressive colleges follow a philosophy of education and of society that appeals to a limited segment of American youth and parents. They advocate a view of life and culture that was more popular in the 1920s and 1930s than in the 1990s, but a small group of persons would still like to see these values preserved in education. The educational philosophy is primarily that of John Dewey, and the social philosophy could be described as social democratic or liberal or progressive.

Perhaps the best known colleges of this type are Antioch, Bard, Bennington, and Sarah Lawrence. Though there are differences among these institutions, they tend to have less structured curricula with maximum opportunity for individual choice; highly democratic forms of student, faculty, and trustee organization; an emphasis on the contemporary arts and on experiential learning; and a campus atmosphere that favors moral flexibility and liberal social values. The private sector is able to sustain a few colleges of this kind. There is no example of a state-sponsored progressive institution that has been able to survive more than a few years. The general public is not willing to finance such colleges.

Another group of institutions, which in many respects is the opposite of the progressive colleges, is the conservative or libertarian colleges. These are the institutions that operate on the basis of an explicit set of principles calling for limited government, a free-market economy, and traditional social values. They tend to refuse governmental financial support, to appeal to prospective students and donors on the basis of clearly stated political and economic principles, and to take strong positions on public issues. Their administrators and faculty members usually reflect the conservative values espoused by their colleges, just as the administrators and faculty members of progressive colleges share the philosophy represented by those institutions.

The best known of the conservative colleges are probably Grove City, Hillsdale, and Rockford. These colleges and their staffs have played an influential role in the development of the conservative movement in the United States. They tend to give particular attention to the social sciences in their curricula. A distinguished educational and research organization of a similar kind, which, however, is not a separate college like those mentioned above, is the Hoover Institution, a division of Stanford University. The Hoover Institution is a world-renowned center of scholarship, reflecting conservative or libertarian social values.

None of these institutions — progressive or conservative — would be able to survive under state auspices. Indeed, they are under constant attack from opposing forces and have only been able to continue and thrive because of the independence they enjoy as private institutions.

A unique institution that should be mentioned in this context is St. John's College, headquartered in Annapolis with a branch in Santa Fe. St. John's represents a clearly defined philosophy of education, but it does not have the ideological overtones of the progressive and conservative colleges. It offers a prescribed curriculum based almost entirely on the great books, the works of thought that have shaped Western civilization through the centuries. St. John's attracts very able students and faculty members who are dedicated to this kind of collegiate education. It is widely admired but has not been emulated, probably because the country is prepared to support only one such institution. St. John's would never survive as a public college; its appeal is simply too limited to sustain popular support.

In the first chapter we considered a large group of colleges and universities that are an important ingredient in private higher education but whose values are too specific to be duplicated in public higher education — the church-related and evangelical institutions. They are a large element in the diversity or pluralism of American higher education. By their very nature, they must be private.

Another kind of distinctiveness in values that should be mentioned is that of the single-sex colleges — the colleges for men and for women. These institutions have been a rapidly disappearing segment of American higher education — they might be called "a threatened species" — but a few remain, and they are almost all private. At an earlier time, in fact, until World War II, there were many public institutions established to educate men and women separately. Florida State College for Women (now Florida State University), the Women's College of the University of North Carolina (now the University of North Carolina at Greensboro), and the University of Virginia (limited to men) were important examples. However, public higher education is now almost totally coeducational (Virginia Military Institute being the only exception), and the separate education of men and women is now largely a phenomenon of the private sector. (It is interesting to note that two public institutions that have retained "woman" or "women" in their titles are actually coeducational — Texas Women's University and Mississippi University for Women.)

Only a few colleges for men and colleges for women can be cited. The private men's colleges are Morehouse, Hampden-Sydney, Rose-Hulman

Institute of Technology, and Wabash, and the more numerous private women's colleges include Agnes Scott, Bryn Mawr, Hollins, Mt. Holyoke, Randolph-Macon Woman's, Scripps, Smith, Sweet Brair, and Wellesley. Most students and parents today prefer to patronize coeducational institutions, but the private sector has sustained a dozen or so strong single-sex colleges. These are examples of the way in which private higher education preserves and nurtures types of colleges and universities that do not enjoy broad public acceptance. They might be called minority voices in American higher education.

Our final example of variety in values is intercollegiate athletics. This is an illustration of the opportunity provided by private higher education for constructive dissent because private institutions do not require broad popular support for their actions.

The spectrum of intercollegiate athletics in private higher education is wide. There are a few private institutions that exemplify "big-time" athletics — Duke, Notre Dame, and Southern California, for example. But most of the leading reformers in intercollegiate athletics have been private universities. Notable examples are Cal Tech, Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, M.I.T., and Yale, all of which have played prominent roles in "cleaning up" athletics and refusing to be parties to the worst features of "big-time" sports.

Private colleges have taken the lead in organizing a vigorous segment of athletic competition that is strictly amateur through Division III of the National Collegiate Athletic Association. Such colleges as Amherst, Bowdoin, Haverford, Oberlin, Oglethorpe, Pomona, Rhodes, Sewanee, Swarthmore, Washington and Lee, and Williams have set a pattern of wholesome athletics for health and recreation without compromise of academic standards. The newly formed University Athletic Conference, comprised of strong private universities, is the latest significant step in athletic reform. Brandeis, Carnegie-Mellon, Case Western Reserve, Chicago, Emory, Johns Hopkins, New York University, Rochester, and Washington University have agreed to conduct their programs in accordance with the highest standards for intercollegiate athletics.

All of the colleges and universities named above have been pioneers in athletic reform, and their independence as privately controlled institutions has enabled them to do that.

Preparation of Leadership

The fourth contribution of private higher education to American society is its role of preparing political and business leadership. The statistics on the educational backgrounds of American leaders are piecemeal, and this argues for caution in making claims for any particular segment of education. There is a temptation to search for figures that substantiate one's thesis, while overlooking contrary data. We simply do not have the information to provide a complete picture. The task is made even more complex by the fact that many leaders have had mixed educations. They have attended different kinds of schools, colleges, and universities. No single sector can claim them as its own. However, a few statistics are at least suggestive. They may be the beginning of a more systematic inquiry.

Four of the last six presidents of the United States received all of their higher education at private institutions, and the other two completed their graduate study at private universities though their undergraduate education was received in public colleges or universities. George Bush, Ronald Reagan, Richard Nixon, and John Kennedy were educated entirely in private institutions. Jimmy Carter was primarily educated in a public college (the U.S. Naval Academy), but his graduate study in nuclear engineering was at a private institution (Union College). Gerald Ford graduated from a state university (Michigan) and from a private law school (Yale). Both of the presidential nominees in 1988 received all of their higher education in private institutions (Harvard, Swarthmore, Yale). Twenty of the 31 college-educated persons who have served as president of the United States have been graduates of private colleges and universities.

Turning now to business leadership, we find that the chief executive officers of large corporations are drawn disproportionately from alumni of private colleges and universities. A recent survey found that 60 percent of the country's top corporate executives were graduates of private institutions. An even more startling fact is that 20 percent of the top three officers in Fortune 500 corporations are graduates of a single school — Harvard Business School.[5] Thirty-one percent of its graduates of 25 years ago are chief executives of companies or other organizations.

Chapter III

The Future of Private Higher Education

We have been considering the scope, diversity, and contributions of privately controlled higher education. We have seen that more than half of the colleges and universities in the United States are private and that their number and total enrollment have grown steadily in the 1970s and 1980s. As a group of institutions, they make important and distinctive contributions to American culture.

We turn now to highly speculative questions that no one can answer with certainty. What can we expect of private higher education in the future? How will private colleges and universities change by the end of this century? Will they continue to make valuable contributions to education, scholarship, and the public welfare?

In thinking about these questions, I have been helped by conversations with three persons who are well acquainted with the national scene in higher education. They are not responsible for my conclusions — indeed, each of them would disagree with some of the predictions I am making — but many of their insights have been incorporated in this chapter. The friends I consulted are Hugh M. Gloster, President Emeritus, Morehouse College; Gary H. Quehl, President, Council for Advancement and Support of Education; and Richard F. Rosser, President, National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities.

In my opinion there will be major changes in privately controlled colleges and universities during the last decade of this century. Not everything will change; some aspects of the private sector will probably continue much as they are now. What private higher education becomes will, of course, depend not only on the goals and the efforts of the more than 1,800 individual institutions but also on what public institutions and governments do. Private higher education operates in an environment, and it is influenced by that environment.

My predictions will be in the form of eleven propositions.

Research Universities

The leading private research universities will maintain their positions as distinguished centers of scholarship and teaching. The twenty-five or so prominent universities in this group will continue to provide a disproportionate fraction of the scholarly leadership in the United States. They will attract many of the ablest students, both undergraduate and graduate, and more than their share of the most renowned scholars. Their graduate departments and professional schools will rank at or close to the top among the universities of the world. In such fields as medicine, law, and business, they will be preeminent.

The financial and human resources of the leading private universities, several with endowments exceeding a billion dollars, are such that their positions are assured. The strength of their alumni and their reputations for excellence will sustain these universities for a long time to come. Though there are minor shifts in eminence — for example, many academics would rank Stanford above Harvard today, and that would not have been true 20 years ago, and Chicago and Columbia may not enjoy quite the brilliance they had a generation ago — the fact remains that the most prominent private universities have a secure position as leaders of American higher education.

In acknowledging that, I am not at all diminishing the importance of the most distinguished public universities.

Selective Colleges of Arts and Sciences

The highly selective colleges of arts and sciences will become increasingly strong and distinctive. Here I am referring primarily to what the Carnegie Foundation calls the Liberal Arts Colleges I — the approximately 150 well-established institutions emphasizing liberal education. There are minor differences of opinion among informed people as to whether this or that particular college should be included in the list, but there is wide agreement that in each region a dozen or so private colleges stand out as having excellent student bodies, superb teaching faculties, solid curricula, and a reputation for academic excellence.

These colleges produce more than their share of the graduates who go on to strong graduate and professional schools. They have prominent alumni, and their reputations are enviable. They make a point of excellence in undergraduate teaching.

Most of the institutions in this group have made significant strides in the last 25 years. There is every reason to expect that their success will continue into the next century. These colleges occupy a special niche in American higher education, separated from the majority of private colleges on the basis of academic rigor and from the research universities, both private and public, by their emphasis on undergraduate teaching.

Demise of Weak Colleges

Some of the weaker private institutions, especially historically black colleges, will close, merge, or become public. Since World War II we have been hearing dire predictions that large numbers of struggling colleges would have to cease operation. These predictions have failed to recognize the remarkable qualities of endurance of underfinanced colleges. Colleges are not like businesses that come and go rapidly as a result of the actions of individual owners. In fact, very few private colleges have closed in the last 50 years, and many more new institutions have been established.

Even so, any realistic assessment of the strength of private colleges today must lead to the conclusion that some institutions will not be able to continue. The predominantly black colleges are particularly vulnerable, even though they have enjoyed generous financial assistance from the federal government, corporations, and foundations in recent years. A few of the private black colleges — for example, Hampton, Morehouse, and Spelman — are probably stronger in every important respect today than they have ever been in their histories. But many others have been declining in the last ten years and have been using up their permanent resources. It is difficult to see how all of them can survive the next decade.

Similarly, there are predominantly white colleges with very limited resources and questionable roles in higher education that will probably have to close or merge with neighboring institutions. Through the years some private

institutions that could not continue under private control have become units in state systems of higher education. We shall probably see a dozen or so cases of this kind in the future.

Can anyone say how many private colleges and universities will close, merge, or become public in the remaining years of this century? The answer is "no," but by scrutinizing the colleges in a state or region, one can venture a guess. My guess is that 100 institutions, including perhaps 10 or 12 black colleges, will be lost to the private sector of higher education in the next decade. Most of them, I would predict, will merge with other private institutions, thus preserving some of their assets.

Rapid Progress in the South

Private higher education in the South and Southwest will continue to make dramatic gains in quality and resources. A quiet revolution has been taking place in American higher education in the last 25 years. There has been a steady migration of population and industry from the Northeast and Middle West to the South and Southwest, and this is having an impact on colleges and universities. Whole industries, such as textiles, furniture, and shoes, have moved from one region to another.

Private higher education in the South and Southwest has benefitted greatly from this migration. The effects are already apparent, and they should continue into the 21st century. Increasingly, private institutions in the South and Southwest are in a position to practice selective admissions and are building new facilities and acquiring substantial endowments. They are able to recruit scholarly talent to their faculties from other regions. In national surveys of higher education, many southern and southwestern institutions are moving upward in reputation and resources. This trend will undoubtedly continue.

Increasing State Support

Many states will increase their financial assistance to students who choose private institutions. This will not happen uniformly across the country.

In some states, assistance to students in private colleges and universities is a well-established policy that will provide more generous assistance in the future. In other states little or nothing is being done. In general, however, state legislatures recognize that relatively small appropriations to assist students in private institutions are a cost-effective use of public funds. It is appreciated by the students and their parents, helps in the financing of private higher education, and is less expensive than adding facilities and staff at public colleges and universities.

The formulas for assisting students who are attending private institutions vary widely from state to state. In some states, student need is taken into account; in others aid is provided regardless of need. In a few states, the policy of assisting students in private institutions has led to acrimony between the two sectors of higher education, but in most states administrators realize that open conflict is not in the interest of either sector.

Emphasis on Good Management

Private institutions will place greater emphasis on good management and the assessment of results. Several factors are leading to an emphasis on effective management. All private colleges and universities, even the wealthiest, are being forced to utilize their resources as efficiently as possible to meet the steadily rising costs of operation. The competition in higher education for the better students (in some institutions, for students of any kind) and for financial support presses colleges and universities to improve their management. Institutions that are striving for distinctiveness or academic excellence must define their purposes more clearly and engage in more systematic planning if they are to reshape themselves. Under these and other pressures, most private institutions will, I believe, give more and more attention to the effectiveness of their management. In such areas as planning, personnel relations, energy conservation, economy in purchasing, enrollment management, and fund raising, institutions will strive to improve their administration.

The assessment of results is a strong national movement. The regional accrediting agencies are requiring more systematic assessment, and some states are engaged in serious efforts to accomplish this in public higher

education.[7] The next ten years will see important advances in the organization and techniques of assessment. Assessment is, of course, closely related to planning and to institutional research.

Another area of management in which we are likely to see intensive activity in the next decade is that of evaluating faculty performance. Faculty salaries are the largest single component of the budget of every college and university, and they are sure to be examined carefully as institutions try to hold their costs within reasonable bounds. The shortness of the work week for some faculty members, the traditional length of the academic year, teaching loads, and the wide differences in the research productivity of faculty members in universities are questions that will probably be scrutinized in the future.

Modification of Tenure

Many private colleges and universities will modify or abolish traditional faculty tenure policies. Traditional concepts of tenure have been undergoing steady erosion for many years. The imposition of quotas on the number of tenured positions in departments and schools, the widespread establishment of non-tenure-track positions, limitations on the number of years beginning faculty members may serve in an institution regardless of performance or promise, the reduction of the percentage of candidates for tenure who are granted tenure, the redefinition of tenure to make it less binding, the lengthening of the probationary period and provision for a "sliding tenure date," and the use of term appointments instead of tenure are some of the changes that have already eroded traditional tenure systems.[8]

The legal prohibition of tenure in British universities receiving public funds, including Oxford and Cambridge, has been a serious blow to the whole idea of tenure in the English-speaking world. In the United States the expected prohibition by the Age Discrimination Act of mandatory retirement ages for tenured faculty members, beginning on January 1, 1994, will cause many institutions to reexamine their tenure practices. Once a definite retirement age is abolished, tenure becomes an open-ended commitment on the part of the employing institution.

Probably all of this ferment over tenure will resul' in a variety of modifications of traditional tenure. Faculty organizations such as the American Association of University Professors are expressing concern over proposals for change, but change does seem inevitable. Boards of trustees and administrators will have to respond to new conditions. Few people are prepared to argue for the traditional tenure system on principle, and arguments based on the self-interest of faculty members are not persuasive.

My prediction is that many institutions will adopt a term-appointment system that provides reasonable security for productive faculty members but offers opportunity for periodic evaluation.

Expansion of Student Aid

Private colleges and universities will continue to expand their student financial aid programs in order to attract the ablest students and minority students and reduce the gap in cost to the student between private and public institutions. Recent years have seen a strong trend in this direction. The better financed private institutions have increased their student aid programs manyfold, and these programs have become an instrument for restructuring institutions in fundamental ways.

The ability and diversity of the student body are probably *the* most influential factors in determining the character of a college or university. And the freedom to make this determination is one of the most valuable attributes of a private institution.

Many institutions, of course, will not have the means to increase their financial aid programs substantially. The colleges and universities that are heavily dependent on tuition income will find this difficult to do.

Probably this trend will be most pronounced in the hundred or so strongest institutions with selective admissions and generous support. The probable result is that the very strong private colleges and universities, through student aid programs focused on the ablest students and minority students, will develop extraordinarily strong student bodies with ethnic diversity. They will skim off much of the best academic talent across the country. Some observers

have expressed the fear that American higher education will become a class system based on financial status. I think it is more likely that the strongest private institutions will increasingly become concentrations of the ablest students regardless of socioeconomic background.

Reform in Athletics

Private institutions will continue to lead the way in the movement for athletic reform. This is a complex issue. It is not clear that in the next decade there will be significant reform in "big time" intercollegiate sports. The institutions that are caught in that web may not be able to extricate themselves. It is even possible that "big time" sports will move toward an openly professional system in which the players will be paid salaries and will not pretend to be students at all. Football and basketball players could be employed in the same way that universities now employ custodians or painters. It is not necessary that they be students in order to represent X or Y University. Much of the present corruption arises from the pretense that the players are *bona fide* students.

But the great majority of institutions — about 3,000 of the 3,389 colleges and universities in the country — are not engaged in truly "big time" athletics. Indeed, 314 are in NCAA Division III, which is strictly amateur. (This group includes most of the better private institutions.) Then there is a large middle group that mimics the bad practices of "big time" teams without actually being "big time." It is in Division III and this middle group that the private institutions exercise leadership in the direction of reform.

While we can have little hope that "big-time" sports will be changed to serve educational and recreational purposes in the foreseeable future, there are significant possibilities of reform in the majority of institutions to which I have referred. In the next decade, Division III expansion to 500 or 600 institutions would be genuine progress. Something like this may be possible.

Change in Social Values

Most private colleges and universities will experience a lessening of interest in the social egalitarianism and counterculture of the 1960s and 1970s . This will probably continue for the remainder of the century. It seems unlikely that higher education can insulate itself from the shift in values that is occurring in the wider society. (For systematic analysis of values in American culture, I would refer you to *Habits of the Heart* by Robert N. Bellah et al. This is a useful book to the student of higher education.)

The identification of ideological and philosophical currents within higher education is a fascinating study in itself. At the present time, feminism, African-Americanism, Marxism, nihilism, logical positivism, evangelicalism, and neoconservatism are all represented by significant numbers of adherents in American universities and colleges. Often these movements are vying with one another in departments and schools, seeking to control curricula and proselytize students. Usually they are embodied in campus organizations (an exception is logical positivism, which is a more pervasive influence). Sometimes the conflicts become so intense that they enter the public arena, as at Dartmouth, Stanford, and Princeton, where serious ideological controversies have erupted in recent years.

However, on many campuses there is a weariness about ideological causes, and it seems a reasonable prediction that these movements will continue to decline. Institutions will be less tolerant of disruptive activities, no matter how plausible or sincere the protestations. Incivility in the name of ideals is not as exciting as it used to be, particularly when it is insensitive to the rights of the uncommitted majority. There is even a new organization of faculty persons (the National Association of Scholars) dedicated to opposing the exploitation of universities for ideological and political purposes.

Distinctive Role

Private colleges and universities will sharpen their purposes and their appeals to donors and prospective students. This trend is related to the earlier

prediction that institutions will pay more attention in the future to effective management and the assessment of results. As institutions make their administration more analytical, they also define their missions more clearly and target their publics more precisely. The professionalization of admissions (largely through the movement called "enrollment management") and of development and public relations makes institutions more conscious of their purposes and the ways these can be presented distinctively and persuasively. In the process, colleges and universities are borrowing concepts and techniques from marketing as it is practiced in business.[9]

One of the persons I consulted made the point that this sharpening of purposes and targeting of publics will tend to distance the stronger private institutions from the rank and file and from the public sector. He saw this as a force that might diminish the unity or cohesiveness of higher education. That may prove to be true, but my own view is that soon many institutions will be using the same techniques and that a substantial fraction of them will find new niches in American higher education. This opens the possibility that an increasing number of institutions will become very good in their own specific roles, enriching higher education and reducing the tendency for institutions to try to be alike.

Conclusion

Let me summarize what I have been saying about the future of private higher education. This is a speculative exercise, and no one can pretend to have an infallible crystal ball. What I see for the remainder of this century is something like this: The leading private research universities are so strong in human and financial resources that they will hold their positions as eminent centers of scholarship and teaching. I am referring here to the approximately 25 universities with distinguished graduate and professional schools.

The highly selective colleges of arts and sciences, primarily undergraduate institutions with demanding academic standards and competent faculties, will do well as we approach the 21st century. They will continue to stand out in their regions and in the country as strong and respected colleges. Their specialty is excellent teaching of superior students.

I predict that some of the less well-established private institutions will close, merge, or become public. The historically black colleges are an especially vulnerable group. My "guesstimate" is that perhaps 100 institutions will be lost to the private sector in the next ten years.

Private colleges and universities in the South and Southwest have gained from the migration of population and industry from the Northwest and Middle West in recent decades. I predict that this trend will continue and that private institutions in the Sunbelt will make dramatic gains in quality and resources.

Many states now provide financial assistance to students who choose to attend private colleges and universities. In my opinion these programs will be expanded in the future because state legislatures find that they are widely appreciated by students and parents, are helpful to private higher education, and are less costly than adding facilities and staff at public institutions. They seem to be a sound investment of public funds.

I predict that private colleges and universities will emphasize, even more than in the past, effective management and the assessment of results. The next decade should see important advances in the organization and techniques of assessment. Another area that will probably receive more intensive study is faculty compensation, loads, and performance, as institutions try to hold down rapidly rising costs. These are broad trends that will probably affect all types of colleges and universities — public and private.

For a variety of reasons, many institutions are now beginning a re-examination of traditional faculty tenure policies and experimentation with new faculty appointment practices. I predict that many private colleges and universities will modify or abolish their present tenure policies. The immediate occasion of these changes will be the lapse of the federal law regarding mandatory retirement of tenured faculty members on January 1, 1994, but traditional tenure has been undergoing erosion for many years.

I believe that private institutions will continue to expand their student financial aid programs. These programs will be focused on the attraction of able students and minorities. Another purpose will be to reduce the gap in cost to the student between private and public institutions. The financially strong institutions are most likely to do this.

I predict that private colleges and universities will continue to play constructive roles in the reform of intercollegiate athletics. They may not

have much effect on "big-time," public-entertainment athletics, but they can do much to promote the ideal of amateurism among the majority of institutions not engaged in "big-time" sports. An extension of NCAA Division III to additional institutions may be the strategy for reform.

There is evidence that the social egalitarianism and counterculture of the 1960s and 1970s are declining. I suggest that this trend will continue in most private colleges and universities for the remainder of this century and that ideological movements generally will enjoy less acceptance in these institutions in the forseeable future. This may also be true of public higher education.

I predict that private institutions will sharpen their purposes and their appeals to donors and prospective students. This is a logical consequence of the emphasis on good management and the assessment of results. Marketing concepts from business are influencing colleges and universities. The better definition of mission and of institutional characteristics will tend to underscore the distinctiveness of different institutions and their niches in higher education.

Overall, I foresee a period of progress and enhancement of quality and resources for most of private higher education in the last decade of the 20th century. Though overshadowed in size by the governmentally sponsored institutions, private colleges and universities will continue to play an indispensable role in America and the world.

Notes

[7]One of the most widely used publications on assessment is *Resource Manual on Institutional Effectiveness* (Atlanta: Commission on Colleges, Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, 1989). The earlier work of Astin, Dressel, Pace, Tyler, and others laid the foundation for present practice.

[8]Richard Chait and Andrew Ford, *Beyond Traditional Tenure: A Guide to Sound Policies and Practices* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1982).

[9]An important impetus to this movement was George Keller's book *Academic Strategy: The Management Revolution in American Higher Education* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983)

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